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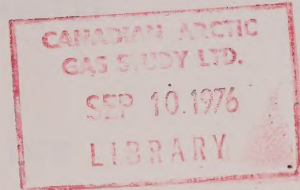
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Exhibit # 689

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August 5, 1976.

Ian Scott, Q.C.,
Commission Counsel,
Cameron, Brewin & Scott,
Barristers & Solicitors,
Guardian of Canada Tower,
181 University Avenue,
Suite 402,
Toronto, Ontario.



Dear Sir:

Enclosed, please find the following piece of evidence:

DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL REALITIES, SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS 1968-1976 by Howard C. McDiarmid.

I do this in compliance with the rules.

Yours Faithfully,

John U. Bayly

John U. Bayly

John U. Bayly,
Counsel for C.O.P.E.

JB/bb
Enclosure.

cc All Participants.

Development and
Political Realities,
Social and
Economic Impacts

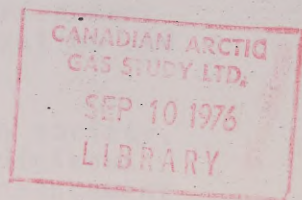
1968 - 1976

By

HOWARD C. MCDIARMID

A Submission to the
Mackenzie Valley
Pipeline Inquiry

August 1976



My submission to this Inquiry, Mr. Commissioner, is concerned with social, economic, political and administrative forces that I have perceived playing upon the human and natural environments of the Northwest Territories during the past decade and a prediction of the probable consequences of this for the next decade.

It is feared by many that the present course development is taking in the Western Arctic will lead to the alienation of the indigenous peoples as has been the case over the last one hundred years for multitudes of Indian people in Southern Canada. The Inuit of the Arctic Coast and Mackenzie Delta and the Dene of the Mackenzie Delta and River Valley have survived for centuries because they had developed a partnership relationship with their environment and they established a social and political organization and a life style to complement it.

To trace the history of encounter with western society, is to trace a dehumanizing process in which the indigenous peoples and their environments were used for the enhancement of others. Through the process of encounter with whalers, traders, missionaries, R.C.M.P., government agents and national and multi-national resource developers, they have been made to feel inferior and subservient. The frustration, the loss of pride and self-respect, the loss of control of their environment has become personified in a number of ways. It is seen as a major cause of the alcohol problem that prevails among so many today. Through the courses of this last century they have become the subjects of our domination and the objects of our manipulation.

It is therefore most difficult to envisage anything but disaster from the social and economic impact upon the indigenous people, their communities, and environments as a consequence of an undertaking that calls for the magnitude of manpower and materials that will be suddenly imposed for the construction and operation of the Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline Project which is proposed as a prelude to the massive development of an energy transportation corridor based upon accelerated exploration activity.

For the indigenous people and their traditional environments it will be overwhelming destruction unless preventative measures are taken for the serious social, economic, cultural and political implications through a tremendous range of negotiations, decisions, commitments and actions before construction activities begin.

In the moments before he prorogued the 59th Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories on May 28, 1976, Deputy Commissioner John Parker expressed concern about "the well meaning ignorance of the people" who were among those testifying before the Inquiry during the Southern hearings. He expressed particular concern that the organized churches were presenting views that their northern congregations would not support.

"There is a real need for more voices of reason in the North today," he stated, "for more people to speak out who truly understand the middle ground that is available to us."

Mr. Commissioner, I appear before your Inquiry as a voice of reason in the North who understands the middle ground; I speak as a southern churchman, as a minister of the United Church of Canada who has had the unique privilege for these past eight years to be engaged in a secular capacity and with a secular identity as a Public Servant in the administration and delivery of programs of social development and political development, of welfare and local government, within the geographical areas that are of primary concern to the purposes of this inquiry.

My observations, persuasions and the nature of my experience make it obligatory for me to testify before this inquiry, to provide an objective account of my experience with both government and the indigenous people in the Western Arctic between 1968 and 1976, to provide an assessment of these experiences as they relate to significant issues and attitudes, and to provide substantial predictions of what may evolve depending upon the nature of the decisions made and the conditions imposed and in whose interests the decisions are made and the conditions are imposed.

My testimony will be in three parts:

- 1) The current political climate;
- 2) Dominant attitudes and actions between 1968-1976;
- 3) Predictions.

1. The Current Political Climate

Politically, the Northwest Territories is at a critical turning point. The Dene are seeking the opportunity to establish and control their own political institutions and are committed to a concept they summarize as a "Dene Nation".

The Inuit have proposed a new Territorial Government and Council for the area above the tree line they call "Inuvut". The Territorial Council and the Territorial Government Administration are reported to support the concept of one potential province with one potential legislature and government.

This divisiveness in the development of political institutions for administrative control and for social and economic development has contributed to a state of considerable anxiety about the present and the future on the part of a large section of both indigenous and non-indigenous people.

There have been strong indicators of late that suggest that the Dene of treaty status are withdrawing their support for the Territorial Council, or as it is now called, the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. Within the past two months by-elections have been held to fill Council seat vacancies caused by the resignation of one member who is now the Vice President of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and by a second member who had previously been the President of the Indian Brotherhood.

At the time of their election to the Territorial Council in March, 1975, many felt that it was a major break through that would lead to a solidification of the major political forces and a reformation of Government Administration. But this hope was short lived.

By-election returns from the Mackenzie-Great Bear riding suggest that at least two communities, Fort Norman and Wrigley, had initiated efforts to boycott the election (Fort Norman 34 of 132 and Wrigley 29 of 90) and the Indian Brotherhood announced that had not the riding of Great Slave been filled by acclamation, a concerted effort was planned to encourage the boycott of that election.

It appears that native organizations have some expectation of getting a settlement of their land claims which will complement their political aspirations and enable them to develop and control the community, regional and territorial political institutions in which they are to participate.

It has been argued by some that the consideration of the economic benefits that would come to the indigenous people of the Mackenzie Delta and Valley from the construction of a pipeline, greatly outweighs any other considerations that arise. More particularly it is thought by many that if a much greater level of economic prosperity were brought to the native people, the anxieties they presently exemplify would disappear.



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It is my persuasion that the indigenous people in the Territories at this point in time do not consider themselves to be deprived in an economic sense. They feel deprived in the political sense. There is a terrible need for them to have a legitimate control of their political institutions through which they can regain control of their social, economic and cultural realities, and participate as equal partners in resource development.

The proposal for a Regional Planning Commission for the Mackenzie Delta is an example of a most desirable project which cannot get off the ground unless it can engage the genuine interest and support of the Delta communities. The communities in which the native people are still a majority will not co-operate in any such project until they have settled their political future.

The political climate at the present time is one of considerable tension and conflict. It is based upon a struggle over values, status and resources.

2. Dominant Attitudes and Actions Between 1968 - 76 That I Have Experienced.

Having worked directly in the social and political development programs of government my experience of dominant attitudes and actions is as a professional social worker who has been engaged initially in social practice with individuals and families and subsequently in society practice with settlement and hamlet councils, community organizations and community leadership.

To facilitate the overview I would like first to present a model as a frame of reference around which my evidence will be based. Models are always open for critical comment and it is acknowledged that the pieces of this model are not total realities as much as being dominant characteristics or themes that I have perceived and experienced during specific time periods. Models are also related to the particular orientation of the individual who has structured them and I claim ownership of and responsibility for this one, which indeed I am prepared to defend.

Further, the generalities that the model suggests will be substantiated with specific examples of attitude and action. It is acknowledged, of course, that the major components in the time periods referred to do overlap.

THE MODEL

	Action	Process	Government Attitude	Indigenous Attitude
Before 1968	Maintenance	Dependency	Doing For	Passive
1968 - 1970	Transition	Planning	Doing in consultation with	Compliance
1971 - 1973	Organization	Forming Institutions on Participatory Principles	Doing with	Accepting
1974 - 1976	Conflict	Control and Manipulation on Defensive Principles	Doing in Spite of	Rejecting
<u>Prediction:</u>				
1977 -	Resolution Development	Power or Negotiated	Doing Because Of	Ongoing Participatory Resolution

From the literature we can assume that the major characteristics of the period during the decade preceding 1968 was that of dealing with the indigenous people as wards of the state.

The action was one of maintenance through a process of developing and sustaining dependency relationships with the government developing and delivering programs on impulse and the indigenous peoples being passive recipients of the services delivered.

A 1963 Federal Government Report on the "Rising Social Assistance Costs in the Northwest Territories", describes in a most interesting way the nature of the relationship that was developing between Government and peoples in the Northwest Territories.

"In 1955, an administrative officer with social work training was appointed to the staff of the Department for the purpose of examining the need for welfare services and facilities in the north.....In the course of the next five years.....a broad program of welfare services was introduced.....the Rehabilitation Program received first priority.....In 1960, the Welfare Division turned its attention to the development of a social assistance program to replace the old out-moded "relief" or dole system, then in effect.....the next two years were spent in researching and developing the type of program which would not only compare favourably with welfare standards in the rest of Canada, but would at the same time meet the particular needs and circumstances of the North and its people. The drafting of the program was completed late in 1961 and it went into effect on April 1, 1962.

A few paragraphs later this document continues:

"Canada as a nation has a strong tradition of free enterprise in economic affairs and a deep respect for the virtue of personal initiative in the attainment of individual and national well-being. In addition, our system of responsible government in this country requires that the expenditure of public funds for whatever purposes be justified beforehand and accounted for afterwards. It is only natural then that a good deal of concern should have been expressed by members of both the Territorial and Federal governments, by responsible citizens, and by civil servants in and out of the Territories over the alarming rise of welfare costs in the North, and over the seeming inability of government administrations either to control it or to predict future requirements."

This statement characterizes one aspect of the nature of the social and economic situation developing among the indigenous people as a result of a program during this same period that led to an ever increasing number of people to leave the land and physically establish themselves in settlements.

However during the same period before 1968 an even more significant event occurred. It happened in 1965 when the Federal Government appointed the Carrothers Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories.

Three statements from that Commission's Report published in 1966 are worth quoting:

"Every citizen of Canada has a claim to participate in the institutions of responsible Government under the Canadian Constitution; it is a goal of political development in the Northwest Territories that the optimum number of Canadian citizens resident in the Territories should, at an optimum speed, participate in Government as fully as Canadian citizens resident in the provinces."

"The Eskimos and Indians, as indigenous minorities, should be free to maintain their cultural and ethnic identities, subject to fundamental human rights as recognized by the Canadian Constitution."

"We consider that a continuing and intensified program for the development of local government, in which all residents can be offered the opportunity of a meaningful role which they can understand, is crucial to the economic, social and political development of the North."

It was assumed by many that the implementation of the recommendations of the Carrothers Commission Report on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories would resolve social and economic problems through the establishment of a participatory democracy as a consequence of the political development of the indigenous people.

Therefore the period 1968-1970 is a most significant one. The action was transition, the process planning, the government attitude, doing in consultation with, the indigenous attitude, compliance.

During this period the Territorial Government established itself in Yellowknife which was proclaimed the capital and the administration and delivery of programs and services was transferred from the Ottawa based establishment of the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to a Yellowknife centered Territorial Government.

It was anticipated that this move would bridge the gap between government and people and that the programs for the social and economic development of the people would become more relevant....responding to the real needs rather than to distorted perceived needs.

Politically plans were initiated to develop local government through a newly formed department having that mandate as its purpose.

The Carrothers Commission had noted that the development of any provincial form of government would most naturally follow from the establishment in all parts of the Territories of the "third level" of government. And this was a significant transition in the 1968-70 period when the political direction of local government development would move from Indian and Northern Affairs to the spirit and direction provided by the Carrothers Commission.

Out of this was to have emerged a system in which the citizens of the north would participate in the process of making those decisions affecting the future of the north, its communities and its people. As one statement describes it:

"In the past, decisions affecting northern settlements often were made by government staff. When it was an emergency situation a decision had to be made quickly. Sometimes these decisions were not even made by local staff but by someone in the regional or even in an Ottawa office. In the future any decision affecting the community should be made only after consultation with the community."

The theme and the excitement of the period 1968-1970 was attributed to the hope contained in the Carrothers Commission Report.

Between 1968 and 1970 and Federal and Territorial Governments seemed committed to operationalize the essence of that report and underwent a process of relocation and reorganization in order to do it effectively. A participatory democracy. A Government representative of and functioning in the interests of the people it served.

The period 1971-1973, the action was to organize communities through programs of community development, the process, forming local institutions of settlement and hamlet councils on participatory principles, the government attitude "doing with", the indigenous attitude "acceptance".

The government was intent to function within the spirit of the Carrothers recommendation applying the developmental process in the establishment of self-government at the community level. In doing so we assumed that our task was not merely to develop the administrative skills necessary to the delivery of municipal services but also to enable the people of the communities to increase their level of political awareness in order that they may understand and exercise control over the social, economic and political forces that affect their lives. Its purpose was not only to improve the quality of community life but also to enable individuals and communities to participate effectively and with pride in significant decision making processes..... to assist the people in establishing their own instruments of local government as an alternative to the administration previously rendered by Indian agents and northern service officers, area administrators and settlement managers. To enable people to develop skills in problem solving, conflict resolution, community planning, community organization and community development.

At the same time major social and economic factors began to influence significantly the development of local government process during this 1971-1973 period, not the least of which was the Prudeau Bay Discovery of 1968.

The implications of Canadian and American oil companies spending hundreds of millions of dollars in oil exploration in the Western Arctic and the announcement of the Prime Minister in April 1972 that a ten billion dollar transportation network, including a highway and a pipeline would be a reality this decade, had significant implications for the social, economic, and natural environments of the indigenous people. The Prime Minister stated that "the whole system would be of immense benefit to Canadians. It would encourage the outflow of resources and the inflow of people." As a result of this the expectation began to move from political development to that of preparing people to participate in the wage economy and individually to become economically independent.

The public assistance regulations were revised in 1971 - and one change particularly is significant:

"where a person is unemployed but employable the Officer shall satisfy himself that the applicant is willing to undertake wage employment or self-employment for which he is capable and is making reasonable effort to secure such employment or self-employment, or to avail himself of such training or rehabilitation services as can be provided."

Significant training programs were initiated by government and industry to engage all employables in the wage economy.

During this period, the opportunity was provided for Settlement Council representatives within specific geographical areas to gather together for Community Development Conferences, where discussions centered on concerns shared in common by a number of communities.

One such conference was held in June, 1973, with the participation of Settlement Councils in the Great Slave Lake area including Fort Resolution, Snowdrift, Lac La Martre, and Wrigley. The participants engaged in healthy discussion around such themes as alcohol, highways, tourism, housing, education, land settlement and employment and the conference produced significant recommendations in respect to the concerns expressed in these areas.

In reviewing these recommendations now, they appear as "mild requests" and most of them in one way or another have been met. But when they were first received by government they were interpreted as presenting a powerful threat and prompted a reaction from the Territorial Government that defused the constructive participating spirit in which they were formulated and presented. One Government official responded to the recommendation with the comment, "either these people are poorly informed or they are trying to apply some sort of power play".

The government gave strong indication that it was the agent that would control and direct northern development and the indigenous people would participate by adhering to the terms and conditions laid down. The people could not participate in formulating the terms and conditions nor were they to be allowed to modify them through the forum of Council Conferences. The extent "of their authority and responsibility" was to remain advisory in matters relating to program policy and northern development.

The attitude began to develop that said in effect, Settlement Councils were agents of the senior governments in the community, they were not the political institutions of the people who elected them. It is of interest to note that the political thrust of the Councils represented at the Great Slave Community Development Conference in 1973 diminished and from that point onward the political concerns began finding expression through the native organizations. So this period that began on an enthusiastic note of participation ended with feelings of rejection.

Thus the period 1974-1976 is identified as a period of conflict - with government solidifying its approach to control and direct upon defensive principles, doing in spite of. Tensions between and among government and people developed.

Three significant events occurred in 1974 which has had a profound influence upon subsequent developments during this period that is characterized by conflict.

- 1) A Paper on the Philosophy of Local Government;
- 2) A formalized expression of the Dene on the question of land claims;
- 3) The Appointment of this Commission of Inquiry, as a result of the applications of Canadian Arctic Gas and Foothills to build pipelines.

Dr. Louis Hamelin, who participated in the Overview Hearings of this Inquiry by delivering a paper entitled "Political Development in the Canadian Northern Territories", initiated the preparation of "A Paper on the Philosophy of the Department of Local Government" during the 51st sitting of the Territorial Council in January 1974, as an appointed member of that Council.

He expressed the concern that there were two forms of government in the Northwest Territories, "the one that tries to go down from the top and the one who tries to build up from the base", and he raised the fundamental question as to whether or not the two would meet.

Considerable energy was invested and a number of consultations were held with communities, native organizations, academics and members of the Territorial Administration out of which was produced in January, 1975, "A Paper on the Philosophy of the Department of Local Government". Essentially this paper confirmed Dr. Hamelin's concern and laid out the means by which the indigenous people may become significantly involved in the evolution of Territorial political institutions and in the eventual reformulation of constitutional relationships.

Public discussion of this paper has been prevented mainly because it suggests that the traditional municipal model of local government is an interim structure for political development rather than a permanent structure for community administration and that out of this process of political development will evolve the institutions that reflect more adequately the aspirations and concerns of the indigenous people.

Needless to say the municipal model of local government serves well the interests and the concerns of Euro-Canadians moving into the Northwest Territories. Such a democratic model is recognized as ensuring "political rights without discrimination", as well as providing public services and for fair dealing between citizen and society. But a question raised by the philosophy paper, based upon the comments of the indigenous people themselves was the models success in providing for their involvement and for the safeguarding of their interests. It was found that in communities like Yellowknife, Fort Smith, Hay River and Fort Simpson that the municipal model contributed more to the political exclusion and the isolation of the indigenous people living within the boundaries of such municipalities.

The Philosophy Paper also accented the moral principle in respect to the question of the consent of the indigenous people to be governed by a system that is super imposed and that has a tendency to by-pass traditional laws and language and practices. The extent to which it removes their right of self-determination is a question of primary concern.

However, the Philosophy Paper states;

"There can be no question that this 'government from the base' will eventually meet the 'government from the top'. On what terms, and what political processes and structures will result can only be a matter of speculation. What is accepted as being certain and is taken as the corner stone of the philosophy.....is that the union of these two governments will be a function of the political expression of the people of the Northwest Territories."

In disregard to the direction provided by the Philosophy Paper, the thrust of the Department of Local Government has been moved away from developing political awareness to that of developing competent tax based municipal structures and administrations. Actions pertaining to political development are to be left with the native organizations.

The second significant event to occur in 1974 that has influenced subsequent developments during this 1974-1976 period of conflict was the formulation of the Dene Philosophy and Position on the Question of Land Settlement.

At a week long meeting at Fort Good Hope in June, 1974, two hundred and fifty people representing the Dene (status, non-status and metis) of the Northwest Territories "declared their continuing ownership of 450,000 square miles of traditional land".

Such a claim thirty years ago would not have received the level of resistance that it has today. How vividly I remember being told in a grade seven social studies class in a Vancouver school, during discussions on the Indian reserve system in Canada, that the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories was not legally defined as such but was treated in fact as an Indian reserve.

The increased political consciousness of the Dene, their formal organization of Brotherhoods and associations, the immediate threat to traditional land use habits as a result of resource development contributed to the formalization of claim.

In an address concerning this claim, the past president of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories quoted a declaration of the Tanzania African National Union that he felt was applicable to the predicament into which the Dene felt they were being placed.

"Any action which does not increase the peoples' say in determining their own affairs or running their own lives is not development and retards them, even if the action brings them a little better health and a little more bread."

A year later at the Fort Simpson Assembly the Indian Brotherhood made a "Dene Declaration" the final line of which capitulates their aspirations:

"What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada. This is what we mean when we call for a just land settlement for the Dene Nation."

In situations of conflict every action precipitates a reaction.

The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development delivered the Response of the Government of Canada to the Dene Declaration:

"The Government of Canada will not accept a declaration of independence from any group within its borders. It has and will continue to foster the greatest possible diversity of its cultural groups. Canada is a multicultural society and the Canadian Government does not wish to see any particular groups, especially its aboriginal people, lose their particular culture and way of life. However, all cultural groups must be willing to participate in the Canadian society and system of government and take the responsibility for making that government, through co-operation, serve their needs."

The third significant event to occur in 1974 that has also influenced substantially the 1974-1976 period of conflict was the Application to Build a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and the subsequent appointment of this Commission of Inquiry.

More than anything this Commission of Inquiry is seen by many as an opportunity to reconcile the natural resource requirements of southern metropolis and the aspirations of indigenous peoples to retain control of their traditional environments and to preserve their culture as participating members of Canadian society.

In respect to all of these significant happenings the Territorial Government has avoided serious commitment and meaningful participation. An attitude and a behaviour that most certainly has contributed to the divisiveness in the development of political institutions that I have referred to earlier.

In the approach that has been taken towards these issues the Territorial Government has been forced to present itself not as a peoples government at all, but as a Federal Administration in the North, functioning as the agent of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The state of the conflict that currently prevails is a most serious one indeed.

The most critical action of the next tri-annual period - 1977-1979 - is to find a resolution. Will it be through the imposition of force or will it demonstrate the ability to negotiate as equals on a continuing basis?

It should be noted that the Carrothers Commission in 1966 made its recommendations for a period of tens years and stated "that the question of Government of the Northwest Territories be reviewed again in ten year's time", that is 1976.

As far as I know no review has been initiated even though it is apparent that there are a number of significant attitudes on this very question.

This divisiveness in the development of institutions in the N.W.T. seems undesirable, if not perverse.

This Inquiry itself, Mr. Commissioner, might have been easier to carry out if this recommendation of the Carrothers Commission to review Territorial Government had been first implemented. For is it not the most commonly recurring theme placed before you by the people of the Territories that the development of a pipeline should follow upon - not precede - the resolution of the political and the constitutional questions raised by "land claims"; by political declarations and proposals of the native people; by the Council of the Northwest Territories; and by other bodies - substantial and insubstantial.

The alternative, to avoid the resolution of these issues and to proceed with the pipeline, seems in danger of becoming merely a competition between interests and in this competition some of the interests seem much less well-equipped to compete than others. And perhaps worst of all the Government of Canada seems to be running some risk of becoming itself one of these interests. Whether or not one is for or against a pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley surely the settlement of the political future of the peoples of the N.W.T. within confederation should be a higher priority than any one particular economic project. Is there not some truth that the question of the economic and technological desirability and feasibility of the pipeline ought not to supercede the question of the democratic constitutional development of the Northwest Territories.

The manner in which this issue is resolved will determine the level of participation of the indigenous peoples in the social and economic developments of the Territories.

If we truly intend native people to participate and their communities to survive then they must have the political means to participate and to survive. They must be able to control the development of their own communities and regions. They must be able to provide for their own needs in concert with the larger Canadian society of which they are members and prepared to remain members.

3. Predictions

I have identified the current character of the relationship between government and the indigenous people as one of conflict.

It is apparent that the action must soon become that of resolving the conflict through one of two possible processes - Power Resolution or Negotiated Resolution.

Power resolution leads to a situation of having winners and losers.

Negotiated resolution leads to an outcome of benefit to all parties participating in the negotiating process.

The prediction of outcomes is dependent upon the resolution process that is implemented. In short, power resolution may lead to devastating results. Negotiated resolution should enable the indigenous people to control their environment, to participate in its development and to be fully involved in the decision making process that will determine how the resources of that environment are to be utilized and how the profits of those resources are to be shared.

For the present and the future, negotiation appears as being the most desirable.

But even at this point in time we are not sure of the approach that will be taken. Therefore it is necessary to develop two sets of predictions in respect to the social and economic impact of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The first is based upon power resolution and the second is based upon a resolution that is negotiated.

Pipelines may be built and an energy corridor may be developed up the Mackenzie River Valley. What is at issue is whether or not the indigenous people will become casualties or benefactors as a consequence of such a development and its social and economic impact.

Will it become an either/or situation or will there be an innovative compromise?

Will it be a continuation of the old approach which is either a quick and intensive attempt to break down and integrate into the wage economy and the mainstream of Canadian life or a relegation to the back woods, to the edge of town as was the practice a hundred years ago? Or will it be something different this time?

Will Fort Good Hope which is now a settlement of 400 become a town of two thousand when the energy corridor is fully developed? Will the present control of the community under Hareskin leadership be passed over to an immigrant population as has happened in other areas previously inhabited only by aboriginal people? Will Fort Good Hope remain a community of Canadian of Hareskin language and culture or will it become another community of Canadians of English/French language and culture with a Hareskin reserve close by and a Hareskin skid-row downtown as is the case in Hay River today.

In the past we have settled aboriginal rights by removing their political rights and their freedom through legislation and by moving into their physical environment and taking it over without negotiation or compromise.

The political climate in Canada's North and the north climate in Canada's South seems to dictate an alternative which the process and anticipated outcome of this Inquiry is having a profound influence upon. As the Carrothers Commission initiated a program of political development for indigenous peoples, the Berger Commission may become recognized in a decade as having initiated a program of social justice for Canada's indigenous peoples.

Alva Ingerdal wrote in 1941 that:

"Social reform policies may be conceived as passing through three stages: a paternalistic conservative era, when curing the worst ills was enough; a liberal era when safeguarding against inequalities through pooling the risks is enough; and a social democratic era, when preventing the ills is attempted. The first was the period of curative social policy through private charity and public poor relief; the second was the period of social insurance, broad in scope but yet more symptomatic; and the third may be called a period of protective and cooperative social policy."

The people of the Territories have already had the first two stages imposed upon them and the climate is the need to prevent further ills through protection and co-operation.

So it is my prediction that we do intend native communities to survive and that they will be allowed the political means of survival which will enable them to control the development of their own communities and perpetuate the qualities of their own culture. To participate in northern development and to be the beneficiaries of the social and economic returns from major resource developments.

In order for this to happen two significant actions are required. Firstly if there is a development of a corridor up the Mackenzie River Valley it should not precede - the resolution of the political and territorial questions raised by "land claims". The agreement for it will then be negotiated with the indigenous peoples. Secondly, the political future of the people of the Delta and Mackenzie River Valley will not be subordinate to the economic interests of the rest of Canada, and pressing these interests may be.

I think it foolish and irresponsible for us to assume that an obsession with economic considerations and the energy requirements of other places will not lead to the moral, social and economic suicide of the indigenous people.

David E. Woodsworth, in a keynote address to the 1971 Ottawa Forum on Social Policies, "Social Policies for Tomorrow" expressed the opinion that public social policy is completely dominated by economic concepts, leading to "moral and social, if not economic bankruptcy".... which effectively becomes the loss of the ability of a people to determine their social, economic and political future.

In this regard Woodsworth stated:

"It is time to suggest alternatives. My alternative has been expressed in the Canadian Welfare Council's Social Policies for Canada: in the word 'community' I take seriously their statement 'a concern for the dignity of the individual requires acceptance of the concept of community, which means recognition of the interdependence of all people within society....The most beneficial social policies and programs, governmental and non-governmental, will result when those affected participate in the planning, decision-making and implementation'.

Needless to say, those in the N.W.T. who are affected the most by the decisions of government and the activities of the profit motivated corporations have not had the opportunity to participate in the planning, decision-making or implementation and their effective continuing participation in Northern society requires that they do.

In 1928 Nansen, the writer of the preface to Diamond Jennesses "The People of the Twilight" (his experiences with the Eskimos of the Coronation Gulf Region) wrote: "The greedy white men wish to get hold of their furs; but what do we give them instead? Our products, some of which are of very doubtful value to them, indeed, and then our ghastly, insidious diseases, and often our bad customs and morals.....What a sad guilt we white men have towards native races! But these people live in a land that will be of no value to us without them."

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The Canadian Council on Social Development, September, 1971.

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Testamur in Theology

University of British Columbia
Major, Anthropology and English

Graduate Studies

Union College of British Columbia
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M.S.W.

Department of Sociology
University of Calgary

School of Social Welfare
University of Calgary

Southern Experience

1953 - 1968

The Ministry of the United Church
of Canada
Various locations in Alberta and
British Columbia

Northern Experience

1968 - 1969

Senior Area Social Worker, Welfare
Division, Department of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development, Hay River,
N.W.T.

1969 - 1970

Senior Area Social Worker, Department of
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Northwest Territories, Hay River, N.W.T.

1971

A/Sr. Area Social Worker, Department of
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Northwest Territories, Inuvik, N.W.T.

1972

Regional Supervisor, Department of
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1973 - 1975

Regional Superintendent, Department of
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1975 - Present

Head, Training Section, Research and
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Current Memberships

Community Development Society

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